

2

AD A233 866

STUDY PROJECT

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Defense or any of its agencies. This document may not be released for open publication until it has been cleared by the appropriate military service or government agency.

THE ARAB GULF AREA AND THE CONFLICTS INFLUENCING IT

BY

BRIGADIER GENERAL MOHAMED T. MANSOUR
Army of the Republic of Egypt

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A: Approved for public
release; distribution is unlimited.

USAWC CLASS OF 1991



U.S. ARMY WAR COLLEGE, CARLISLE BARRACKS, PA 17013-5050

01 1 15 107

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Form Approved
OMB No. 0704-0188

1a. REPORT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION Unclassified			1b. RESTRICTIVE MARKINGS		
2a. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY			3. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY OF REPORT Approved for public release. Distribution is unlimited.		
2b. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE					
4. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER(S)			5. MONITORING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER(S)		
6a. NAME OF PERFORMING ORGANIZATION U.S. ARMY WAR COLLEGE		6b. OFFICE SYMBOL (If applicable) AWCAB		7a. NAME OF MONITORING ORGANIZATION	
6c. ADDRESS (City, State, and ZIP Code) CARLISLE BARRACKS, PA 17013-5050			7b. ADDRESS (City, State, and ZIP Code)		
8a. NAME OF FUNDING/SPONSORING ORGANIZATION		8b. OFFICE SYMBOL (If applicable)		9. PROCUREMENT INSTRUMENT IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	
8c. ADDRESS (City, State, and ZIP Code)			10. SOURCE OF FUNDING NUMBERS		
			PROGRAM ELEMENT NO.	PROJECT NO.	TASK NO.
			WORK UNIT ACCESSION NO.		
11. TITLE (Include Security Classification) THE ARAB GULF AREA AND THE CONFLICTS INFLUENCING IT (UNCL)					
12. PERSONAL AUTHOR(S) BG MOHAMED T. MANSOUR, EGYPTIAN ARMY					
13a. TYPE OF REPORT Individual Study Proj.		13b. TIME COVERED FROM _____ TO _____		14. DATE OF REPORT (Year, Month, Day) 1991 APRIL 25	
15. PAGE COUNT 26 28					
16. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTATION					
17. COSATI CODES			18. SUBJECT TERMS (Continue on reverse if necessary and identify by block number)		
FIELD	GROUP	SUB-GROUP	Key Words: Persian Gulf - Arab - Strategy - Conflict.		
19. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse if necessary and identify by block number) The Gulf area has a significant importance in today's world order. It is important geographically, politically, economically and militarily. Beside these factors, there are in the region several contrasts and elements of tension due to different political regimes, religions and cultural heritages, economic resources and the existence of crisis situations. The region is considered a confrontation arena between the superpowers, since each has tried to establish and then promote its military presence and influence there. The region's nations have tried to cooperate among themselves to promote peace and security in the region. These attempts still need the support of superpowers and more effort to achieve the results they seek. This paper analyzes the situation in the region, focusing on its importance and elements of tension, and it examines the possibility of achieving a state of peace and security. This peace and security can be achieved through cooperative economic behavior as a prelude					
20. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY OF ABSTRACT <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> UNCLASSIFIED/UNLIMITED <input type="checkbox"/> SAME AS RPT <input type="checkbox"/> DTIC USERS			21. ABSTRACT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION Unclassified		
22a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUAL LTC JOSEPH P. ENGLEHARDT			22b. TELEPHONE (Include Area Code) 717/245-3321		22c. OFFICE SYMBOL AWCAB

BLOCK # 19 - ABSTRACT (Cont'd.)

to achieving political stability and peace. The participation of both superpowers and all Arab countries in the region is an essential requirement to changing the Gulf area to a peaceful region.

12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1040 1041 1042 1043 1044 1045 1046 1047 1048 1049 1050 1051 1052 1053 1054 1055 1056 1057 1058 1059 1060 1061 1062 1063 1064 1065 1066 1067 1068 1069 1070 1071 1072 1073 1074 1075 1076 1077 1078 1079 1080 1081 1082 1083 1084 1085 1086 1087 1088 1089 1090 1091 1092 1093 1094 1095 1096 1097 1098 1099 1100 1101 1102 1103 1104 1105 1106 1107 1108 1109 1110 1111 1112 1113 1114 1115 1116 1117 1118 1119 1120 1121 1122 1123 1124 1125 1126 1127 1128 1129 1130 1131 1132 1133 1134 1135 1136 1137 1138 1139 1140 1141 1142 1143 1144 1145 1146 1147 1148 1149 1150 1151 1152 1153 1154 1155 1156 1157 1158 1159 1160 1161 1162 1163 1164 1165 1166 1167 1168 1169 1170 1171 1172 1173 1174 1175 1176 1177 1178 1179 1180 1181 1182 1183 1184 1185 1186 1187 1188 1189 1190 1191 1192 1193 1194 1195 1196 1197 1198 1199 1200 1201 1202 1203 1204 1205 1206 1207 1208 1209 1210 1211 1212 1213 1214 1215 1216 1217 1218 1219 1220 1221 1222 1223 1224 1225 1226 1227 1228 1229 1230 1231 1232 1233 1234 1235 1236 1237 1238 1239 1240 1241 1242 1243 1244 1245 1246 1247 1248 1249 1250 1251 1252 1253 1254 1255 1256 1257 1258 1259 1260 1261 1262 1263 1264 1265 1266 1267 1268 1269 1270 1271 1272 1273 1274 1275 1276 1277 1278 1279 1280 1281 1282 1283 1284 1285 1286 1287 1288 1289 1290 1291 1292 1293 1294 1295 1296 1297 1298 1299 1300 1301 1302 1303 1304 1305 1306 1307 1308 1309 1310 1311 1312 1313 1314 1315 1316 1317 1318 1319 1320 1321 1322 1323 1324 1325 1326 1327 1328 1329 1330 1331 1332 1333 1334 1335 1336 1337 1338 1339 1340 1341 1342 1343 1344 1345 1346 1347 1348 1349 1350 1351 1352 1353 1354 1355 1356 1357 1358 1359 1360 1361 1362 1363 1364 1365 1366 1367 1368 1369 1370 1371 1372 1373 1374 1375 1376 1377 1378 1379 1380 1381 1382 1383 1384 1385 1386 1387 1388 1389 1390 1391 1392 1393 1394 1395 1396 1397 1398 1399 1400 1401 1402 1403 1404 1405 1406 1407 1408 1409 1410 1411 1412 1413 1414 1415 1416 1417 1418 1419 1420 1421 1422 1423 1424 1425 1426 1427 1428 1429 1430 1431 1432 1433 1434 1435 1436 1437 1438 1439 1440 1441 1442 1443 1444 1445 1446 1447 1448 1449 1450 1451 1452 1453 1454 1455 1456 1457 1458 1459 1460 1461 1462 1463 1464 1465 1466 1467 1468 1469 1470 1471 1472 1473 1474 1475 1476 1477 1478 1479 1480 1481 1482 1483 1484 1485 1486 1487 1488 1489 1490 1491 1492 1493 1494 1495 1496 1497 1498 1499 1500 1501 1502 	
--	--

ABSTRACT

AUTHOR: Mohamed T. Mansour, BG, Egyptian Army

TITLE: The Arab Gulf Area and the Conflicts Influencing It

Format: Individual Study Project

DATE: 25 April 1991 PAGES: 26 CLASSIFICATION: Unclassified

The Gulf area has a significant importance in today's world order. It is important geographically, politically, economically and militarily. Beside these factors, there are in the region several contrasts and elements of tension due to different political regimes, religions and cultural heritages, economic resources and the existence of crisis situations. The region is considered a confrontation arena between the superpowers, since each has tried to establish and then promote its military presence and influence there.

The region's nations have tried to cooperate among themselves to promote peace and security in the region. These attempts still need the support of superpowers and more effort to achieve the results they seek.

This paper analyzes the situation in the region, focusing on its importance and elements of tension, and it examines the possibility of achieving a state of peace and security. This peace and security can be achieved through cooperative economic behavior as a prelude to achieving political stability and peace. The participation of both superpowers and all Arab countries in the region is an essential requirement to changing the Gulf area to a peaceful region.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	ii
CHAPTER I. Introduction	1
II. The Gulf War and Its Probable Consequences .	6
III. The Arab Role in Peacekeeping	10
IV. The Superpowers	14
V. Conclusion	22
ENDNOTES	24
BIBLIOGRAPHY	25

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Egypt does not accept any violation of the security of Arab countries in the Gulf area seeking the safeguarding of their territories. It stands steadfast against the threats and the actions aiming at diminishing the rights of their friendly people to be able to lead a safe and prospective life.¹

President Husns Mobarak, 1981

The Arab Gulf's importance lies in being the eastern border to the Arab world and the heart of the Islamic world. At the same time, it occupies the eastern edges of the Arab world and is considered the Arab world's terminal from the East. This importance increases as it is the crossroads between the Asian world to the east and the European world to the West.

In addition the Gulf has a great strategic importance, with many islands controlling the waterways in the Gulf. The most important of these islands are Abou Musa and the Small and Great Tombs. These islands are of great strategic importance as a suitable location for setting up naval and air bases.

The geological structure of the area has left it floating on a lake of oil, which makes its countries the richest in the world. It has the greatest proved reserves of oil (more than half of the proved reserve in the world) on which the U.S., European countries depend.

Beside its abundance of oil, the area is of interest to the Soviet Union because of its proximity. The distance between the

Gulf and borders of the Soviet Union is about 650 kilometers. To control the Gulf, it is clear that great powers are keeping a naval presence in the Indian Ocean which is connected to the Gulf. At the present time, there is a great competition among the superpowers to extend their influence within the area. This is because its strategic importance is gradually increasing due to the great need for oil and the possibility of another energy crisis.

Therefore, this area has become the hottest area of conflict in the world. This conflict is manifested in many political and military changes such as the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the existence of socialist system in the area.

Underpopulation and lack of education in this area required immense assistance from the neighboring countries. This factor threatens the culture of the countries in this area.

From the military point of view, the military forces of these countries are not likely to be capable of securing the Gulf countries. This is a result of underpopulation, the lack of technical and scientific skills to absorb modern weapons, and the failure to set up a national strong and trained modern army.

The Gulf area produces 21.5 percent of the world's current oil needs.² It is one of the most important sources of oil while there also exists the largest reserve of oil in the world.³

Local Conflicts.

The problem of defining the borders in the region has more significance since there are large oil fields near many borders.

This has made it attractive for any country to seize a few kilometers, beyond its present border.

The British occupied the area to secure control over these countries. To sow dissent, it allowed Indian and Iranian groups to enter the Gulf to support it in dominating in the area. Britain had always been one part in any negotiations of problems about the borders, whether inside or outside the area. The first agreement about borders was between Britain and the Ottoman Empire in 1913. They agreed about the parts under each one's influence east of the Arab Peninsula. Also, Britain was the middleman among Iraq, Saudi and Kuwait in planning the borders because it was difficult to define the borders in the desert lands. So the borders agreed upon were interweaved and not accurate. Thus, they relied upon the idea of neutral areas.

There have been numerous border problems and conflicts in the region. These include the problem of borders among the Emirates of the United Arab Emirates; between Emirates and neighboring countries, between Bahrain and Iran, between Iran and the UAE, Iraqi claims in Kuwait, the Iraqi-Saudi border, and the Kuwaiti-Saudi borders.

These problems have all become sharper with the discovery of oil and rising land prices.

World Conflicts.

Conflicts can be defined as interlocking spheres according to their importance and priorities with the international arena.

These spheres include the superpowers, the Arab world, the Islamic world, the Europeans, the Iranians, and the Israelis.

Because of the interests of the superpowers, it is very likely that any conflict in the Gulf area will always be a regional one backed by foreign power. The present conflict is therefore connected with past events and will have a significant effect on the changing parameters in the new world order.

The Arab sphere of influence is of a great importance as the Gulf countries are integral part of the Arab world. Without doubt, any conflict in the Gulf will affect directly the Arab nation and its security.

The Gulf area is considered the heart of the Islamic world, which extends from Indonesia in the east to Morocco in the west. The Arab Gulf countries, especially Saudi Arabia, have a great weight in the Islamic world because of their economic and religious importance.

Europe and Japan are the major countries consuming Gulf oil. Japan is considered one of the greatest oil consuming countries after the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and it imports 80 percent of its oil from the Gulf countries. It is expected that percentage will increase.

Iran's long history of attempts to control the Gulf show that it will never give up its dreams to make the Gulf a Persian lake. Therefore, since the Khomeni revolution, Iran has continued to hint that she has historical rights in Bahrain and some of the Gulf islands. This constitutes a danger in that the conflict may

not only be between Iran and Bahrain but also will involve the whole Gulf area.

The impact of the Arab-Israeli conflict on the overall stability in the area is very important. Any dispute in the area, such as the present Gulf crisis, will be linked in away or another to the original Arab-Israeli dispute.

CHAPTER II

THE GULF WAR AND IT PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES

Looking at the current situation, it appears that there are a number of Iraqi aims in the conflict in the area. First among these is escaping from the internal, political, economic and security problems and engaging the Iraqi public opinion on other foreign problems. Also, Iraq wants to demonstrate to the superpowers its power and domain over the area to preserve its prestige and its strategic importance. Iraq is trying to dominate the whole Gulf, exploiting the weakness of the military power facing it. Additionally, it is trying to preserve its previous role and influence in the area. It is trying to eliminate the American or Soviet domination in the area. Iraq wishes to gain new oil-rich areas and exploit the weakness of the Gulf countries and their failure to safeguard themselves. Finally, Iraq is doing its best to encourage groups to export the Islamic revolution.

In the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Iraq desired to hold all parts of Kuwait in order to have the upper hand to negotiate and bargain about borders between Iraq and Saudi Arabia. The Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein, had dreams and hopes that he would achieve his objective by invading Kuwait and threatening Saudi Arabia in order to pave the way for replacement of Egypt as the greatest military power in the area. He also wanted to be the leader of the Gulf and later the Middle East, and to play the main role in solving the Palestinian problem. He did not understand

the international changes and the relationship between two superpowers and the new world order.

When Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze addressed the UN on September 25, he relayed a number of ideas important for our understanding of the current situation. He said,

Iraqi actions are having and will have the greatest consequences for the people of Iraq and for millions of the men, women and children in many countries of the world and for their future. War may break in the Gulf region any day, any moment. Today is no time for rejoicing, but one cannot help being satisfied at unprecedented unity of the Security Council and the clear attitude of the international public opinion in the face of Iraq's behavior. This gives the world confidence in the ability of the UN to deal with grave international crisis.

The Gulf crisis is not just a tragedy, and an extremely dangerous threat, to the peace. It is also a serious challenge of maintaining security. It will define the method of protecting law and order on our planet, and the mechanism for controlling the state of human civilization, in the broadest meaning of this terms, as well as the future role of the UN.

International relations are being freed from the vestiges of the Cold War, which for many years had a negative effect on the international legal order. We are again becoming the United Nations and are returning to our global constitution, the charter of the UN. We are returning those of its provisions that were forgotten for a while, but have been proven to be indispensable for the most important of our tasks--the maintenance of international peace and security.

The establishment of principles of new thinking in world politics has enabled us to start implementing the effective measures of persuasion and enforcement provided in the UN charter. We need to define the criteria of defensive sufficiency, but the Iraqi aggression would seem to make it difficult even to discuss this. After all, what can be sufficient in the face of the irrational? On the other hand, the aggression here once again underscored the validity of the argument that no nation should have the exclusive prerogative or absolute freedom to determine its own level of armament.

In the longer term, the world community will need to monitor the military power of states, arms supplies, and transfers of military technology. Such an approach will be in everyone's interests and will strengthen stability and trust. Otherwise, we will continue to be confronted with armed conflicts and attempts to intimidate and blackmail.

We need to agree on principles governing the sale and supply of arms. Such attempts were made in the past, but unfortunately they were not carried through. We must urgently request the Geneva Conference on Disarmament to address this issue and submit recommendations to the next session of the General Assembly.

Egypt realized that the invasion of Kuwait constitutes a great danger. It threatens a vital area important to the whole world, not to the Arab world only. Egypt knows that the invasion is an act without justification. Iraq was not exposed to direct aggression from any country, it was not forced to mobilize the armies, or drive them into fierce battle.

Influence on the World Economy.

The Gulf crisis has had negative effects on the economic rate of growth, especially in the Arab countries like Egypt-Jordan and Turkey, and in the industrial world also. The increase in oil prices contributed to the high prices and may lead to recession in some countries, like the U.S. During the course of war, the destruction in the area will be tremendous. The destruction of Kuwaiti, Iraqi and Saudi oil fields would raise oil prices, which would also raise prices in industrial world countries. The

destruction also would have a great effect on lowering the standard of living in the countries concerned and require rebuilding the destroyed infrastructure.

Once the war is over, the Gulf states, especially Saudi Arabia, should greatly increase their military power to deter any future aggression. This, however, may upset development plans to improve or maintain the standard of living.

The labor force of Egypt, Jordan, and the Sudan in Iraq was greatly decreased, therefore, remittance decreased and the economy of those countries suffered greatly.

CHAPTER III

THE ARAB ROLE IN PEACEKEEPING

Whatever the present Gulf crisis leads to, the end state must guarantee the stability of the area. Stability in the Middle East has to be of Arab and international dimension. The Arab League must be the hub of the wheel for any peacekeeping effort in the area. The league is an apolitical structure with the objective of coordinating Arab efforts to serve Arab aims. An Arab Defense Council can be set up to serve the purpose. Arab heads of state must meet to define such an organization and give it the authority to implement the overall Arab military efforts. We see that any Arab state can contribute troops to perform such tasks, due to Egypt's leadership position from past crises. The commander of these forces should be an Egyptian general who, in turn, can be assisted by the commanders of the participating states. Let us call this organization the "Arab Peace Corps." The organization of this corps can be agreed on by a political decision taken by Arab heads of states. It can be located in Saudi Arabia.

To keep the peace in the area, the Arab-Israeli conflict has to be settled. The proposed international peace conference which all Arabs agreed to (including the PLO) is the most appropriate idea for a comprehensive peace settlement, if it would result in the creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Israeli security must be guaranteed by all Arabs, and any other international measures agreed upon by the United Nations.

In addition to this, we can foresee a major role for the Arab Peace Corps in preventing any member of the Arab League from threatening any other Arab state. We envision that this symbolic Arab force would have the strength of political decision making. Therefore, any threat from any Arab state would be met by a concerted Arab effort, politically and militarily.

To beef up these Arab efforts, the Arabs must establish a balanced strategy to keep good relations with all major powers, especially the U.S., USSR, Japan and Western Europe. Oil must flow freely to all industrial nations, and part of the profits can be used to develop the Arab nation to avoid more aggression and enhance stability in the area. Arabs also must establish good relation with Turkey, Iran, and Ethiopia. Joint economic development projects can be set up with these countries to create better understanding and settle old disputes, especially water disputes.

To stabilize the area, nuclear, biological and chemical weapons have to be addressed. An agreement should be reached along the lines of the U.S.-USSR strategic arms agreements to liquidate or limit all weapons of mass destruction.

GCC countries must be supported by other Arab states in developing their own military capabilities. The support can be in the form of military advisors and training.

To close the economic gap between the rich and poor Arab states, an Arab economic market can be set up. This would promote development programs in poor Arab countries in order to improve their standard of living and make them, in the long run, dependent

only on themselves. The Arab common market would create a free flow of labor and experience between Arab countries.

The Arab Gulf countries have an important role in the region. It is essential for the Gulf countries to work together for future peacekeeping in the area, which cannot be assured without addressing past crisis and their causes.

First of all, border problems must be solved through complete cooperation between all of the Gulf countries, including the problems caused by the Iraq/Iran war and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. In the meantime, major efforts must be devoted to developing and improving the political, social and cultural relations among those countries. Moreover, additional steps must be undertaken to establish a balanced relation with the superpowers and the European countries, including the establishment of an oil policy that can be accepted by the oil consuming countries.

Along with the above steps, and equally important, is the development of the Arab Gulf countries' armed forces in complete coordination with the other Arab countries and the formation of a mobile and modern reserve force. This, in turn, could open the door toward the establishment of an Arab joint force that is aimed to secure the Gulf region against foreign aggression without having the need for Western assistance. The development of such a force, equipped with the latest weapons, would constitute a restraining force that does not exist in the area.

The Arab Gulf countries must play an important role in strengthening Arab and the Islamic solidarity between each other

and between themselves and the other Arab and Islamic countries. According to the present circumstances prevailing in the Gulf, the Arab countries which are affected by the current Gulf and world crisis must put an end to the disputes and begin a joint comprehensive study to discover their causes and eliminate future reoccurrence.

Finally, Egypt, who always believed the Arab causes are indivisible and their fate is common, must assume its leadership position and assist the Gulf countries in achieving stability and security. This can be accomplished by providing the Gulf countries with advisors and through participation in joint military training.

CHAPTER IV

THE SUPERPOWERS

The Gulf area is considered to be a vital area for the west, due to its petroleum sources and because the Soviet threat appears more dangerous here. The most important Western strategic goal in the area is the security of western supplies of petroleum from the Arab Gulf.

For many years American policy was directed toward establishing a collective strategic union through gathering Middle East countries in a political strategic cooperation framework directed against the Soviet Union. This policy aimed to convince the Arabs that the Soviet threat was more important than all local disputes.

It appears that this policy embodied the following:

- Viewing Israel as an dependable ally in the area.
- Minimizing the danger of the Arabs employing oil as a weapon in any Middle East conflict. Avoiding any misunderstanding with the Soviet Union that would delay disengagement between the Arab and Israeli forces, clarifying the relation between stability and prosperity.

In light of modern international changes such as the end of the Cold War, changes in Eastern Europe and the German unification, the Middle East area became a field for a full geopolitical and strategic race between the two superpowers. This area occupied the first stage in the new American strategy. In the framework of this strategy, the U.S. concentrated its effort

to reduce Soviet expansion, especially in the area surrounding the Gulf and its oil. The U.S. realized that the confusion and instability in the Middle East could also result from changes in the area surrounding the Middle East, including Soviet treaties of friendship with a number of countries and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

The continuation and complication of Arab-Israeli conflicts is the factor which allows the chances for Soviet interference and Soviet acquisition of new allies in the area.

It appears that the U.S. strategic objectives in the Gulf area are as follows. First of all, the continuity of oil flow to the U.S. and its allies in Western Europe and Japan at a favorable price. Second, resisting the Soviet expansion by attempting to limit the communist threat towards the Gulf area. Third, maintaining Israeli security and acting to achieve relatively parallel relations with the Arabs on one hand and between the U.S. and Israel on the other. Fourth, achieving stability and peace in the area to protect its interests and the interests of its Western allies. Fifth, economically exploiting Arab markets in favor of the America economy and keeping its own markets in the Gulf area. Sixth, aiming at setting up military bases in the Middle East to secure oil supplies and to form an obstacle against Soviet policy, and to prevent soviet infiltration into the region.

To accomplish these goals in the Gulf crisis of 1990, President Bush announced four guiding principles: First, the U.S. seeks the immediate unconditional and complete withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait. Second, Kuwait's legitimate government

must be restored to replace the puppet regime. Third, the U.S. administration, as has been the case with every President from Roosevelt to Reagan, is committed to security and stability of the Persian Gulf. Fourth, the U.S. is determined to protect the lives of American citizens abroad.

The American Dilemma of Defending the Persian Gulf.

The U.S. has been facing several problems in its efforts to defend the vital interests of the Gulf states. It must be very careful not to overstep a certain line, otherwise the Soviet Union would cross another line, maybe several. The U.S. has to maintain a balance between political considerations and military requirements so as not to lose its grip on things at the time when signs of total "detente" have emerged.

The importance of Gulf oil, as President Carter's Secretary of Defense Harold Brown put it, lies in the United States' conviction that the Persian Gulf stands for the prosperity and political well-being of the U.S. and its allies. If the industrial countries are denied access to the sources of energy in the Gulf, the most likely outcome will be total collapse of the U.S. allies and world economy.⁵

There were several threats to the flow of oil to Western industrial countries. These threats led to the current tensions and will continue to affect events in the future. These threats include Iraqi invasion of Kuwait or any country in the area, the new world order, and internal upheavals against any of the current ruling regimes.

The threats that the U.S. is facing in the region today make direct American military action completely unsuitable in one case and absolutely necessary in another.

If the Arab-Israel conflict were settled, the U.S. could play a major role in promoting technological and economical development in the Arab world. Arabs see the U.S. as the most important Arab ally to perform this task. Therefore, the U.S. must do its best to solve this conflict and convince the Arabs that the U.S. is a natural ally. It must do its best to solve the conflict to avoid being criticized about its relations with Israel.

Arabs see that any new peace agreement between Arabs in the Middle East must not be disturbed by any military alliance or security arrangement by the U.S. with Arabs.

The U.S. can also enhance the Arab peace corps capability to perform its role and can contribute to the development of GCC military capabilities by providing weapons and training. The U.S. must contribute to stabilizing the area in cooperation with moderate Arab states and bring Libya, Syria and Iran to follow the same strategy.

Soviet Interests in the Gulf Area

Many in the West have feared that Soviet intentions in the gulf are offensive. Now and well as a century ago, there has been concern that Russia seeks to gain a warm water port on the Gulf or the Indian Ocean to which they would have overland access through Iran. They fear the Soviet Union plans to gain control of this region in particular because of the enormous oil reserves the Gulf

possesses. Controlling this region could provide the Soviet Union with the oil it might not be able to produce itself in the future. In addition, by controlling the Gulf the USSR could limit or cut off the region's oil supplies to the West. Unless additional oil supplies were found rapidly or other alternatives found, this could cripple the economics of Western Europe and Japan which are so heavily dependent on Gulf oil.

Others, including the Soviets themselves, claim that Soviet intentions toward the Gulf region are completely defensive. Moscow says it is interested in the security of a region located directly on its southern border, especially since the U.S. is so active there and even though the Gulf is several miles from its borders. They also point out that USSR has enormous oil and natural gas reserves. The Soviets say it is the West which is deficient in these resources and thus it is the West that seeks to control the Gulf's oil.

In reality, Soviet policy towards the Gulf nations has both offensive and defensive elements. The most important interest that the USSR has in the region is the preservation of peace. The Soviets fear that Islamic fundamentalism in Iran could conceivably spread to Soviet Central Asia. They have strong interests in preventing this. The second goal in the Gulf is both to prevent growth and reduce where possible U.S. influence in the region. The reduction of U.S. influence is an offensive goal, while preventing its growth is a defensive one. The Soviets were pleased when the U.S. lost influence in Iran. The Soviets also have a strong interest in maintaining in power governments in the

region which are friendly towards Moscow. These include leftist regimes allied to Moscow in Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq and Yemen. The Soviet Union has had a long friendship with Iraq. Keeping friends in power is a defensive goal also.

Another Soviet goal is to keep the Arab world united in its opposition to Israel and any Arab state such as Egypt which agrees to peace with Israel. So long as Arab governments and nations see Israel as their main enemy, they will oppose U.S. aid to Israel. The Soviets also hope that they will be able to ally with Arab governments opposed to U.S. foreign policy.

The Soviets are interested in seeing that Islamic fundamentalism does not become a strong rival with communism as an ideology for those who seek radical political change in the Gulf and Middle East as a whole.

The Soviets hope to establish good relations with the Gulf Cooperation Council (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman and the United Arab Emirates) and have succeeded in establishing relations with both Oman, UAE and Saudi Arabia. Soviet relations with these states is an offensive interest.

It appears that Soviet Union objectives in the Gulf area are as follows:

- . Weakening the Western and U.S. influence in the Gulf area and imposing Soviet domination.
- . Trying to disseminate communism.
- . Expanding its influence to deprive the West and U.S. from Gulf oil.
- . Providing new markets for Soviet products.

- . Ensuring the provision of required oil.
- . Arriving at the warm water ports and securing naval bases for its navy.
- . Controlling the waterways, especially those that are used to transport oil.

The crisis in the Persian Gulf is different, and it is the change in USSR behavior that makes it different. During previous regional crises, the U.S. was either competing with the USSR or, at a minimum, trying to deny the Soviet Union any gains in influence as a result of the crisis. Now the Soviet Union is actively cooperating with the U.S. in trying to solve the crisis. This is what makes this the first crisis of the post-cold war era. There is no end of ways that the USSR could have exploited this crisis, and in the old days they would have done so. They are working closely with the U.S. to isolate Saddam Hussein and deny Iraq, a long-term client of Moscow's, the fruits of its aggression. Why this new stance? Undoubtedly, Mikhail Gorbachev's "new thinking" about international security efforts is one factor, but the most important reason is long-term economic interests. The USSR needs Western economic assistance to reverse its economic collapse and reform its failed economy.

In the long term, the world community will need to monitor the military power of states, arms supplies and transfers of military technology. Such an approach will be in everyone's interests and will strengthen stability and trust. Otherwise, these two superpowers will continue to be confronted with armed conflicts and attempts to intimidate and blackmail. It will be necessary to

keep a close watch on those countries that make determined efforts to build up the offensive capabilities of their armed forces. Moreover, it is necessary to have them explain why this is being done. They might consider the idea of introducing on a global and regional level the international registration of certain types of armaments that are produced or acquired. There is a need for transparency in this area. They need to agree on principles governing the sale and supply of arms. Such attempts were made in the past, but unfortunately they were not carried through. All states must urgently request the Geneva Conference on Disarmament to address this issue and submit recommendations to the next session of the UN General Assembly.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The Middle East is the cradle of three religions and civilizations. It contains many sacred and holy places, besides the Islamic universities which educate millions of Moslems all over the world.

The Gulf region has a wealth of resources on which the world economy greatly depends. Conflicts and disputes in the region will adversely impact the whole world in general, and the entire Middle East in particular. Therefore, great efforts must be made by the other Arab countries, as well as the superpowers, to ensure stability in the region.

The Gulf countries, which are affected by current local conflicts, must lead the way to put an end to disputes and begin a comprehensive and scientific study to remove such disputes and eliminate their causes. This could begin by negotiating existing border problems and developing the current ruling systems to begin approaching a more democratic system.

Believing that the Arab causes are indivisible and the Arab fate is common, all Arab countries must work jointly to support the Gulf countries and promote economic fulfillment between the Arabic and Islamic countries in the region as well as the development of a joint market. In the meantime, the U.S. must play an active role in the region by improving the systems of observation, air defense warning and reconnaissance sensors in addition to improving the defense of the Southeast NATO which in

turn will impact the defense capabilities in the Gulf area. The U.S., with its great military resources, must also support a peacekeeping force in the Gulf.

The Gulf countries must then optimize oil production according to world demands and exert more efforts for the exploration of new oil fields. Building a sound economy that does not depend on oil alone should also be another objective for these countries. With the assistance of Western and Arab countries, other industries which rely on local raw materials should be encouraged.

It is also necessary to invest a considerable part of financial surplus in the Gulf and the Arab countries as well as in the Islamic and Western countries.

Referring to the Middle East, the former U.S. Foreign Secretary John Foster Dullas once said, "The NATO is a great organization based on solid principles, and to consolidate it, it is necessary to establish an Eastern pact beside it."

ENDNOTES

1. Egyptian Military Research Authority, Egypt and the Middle East in the Arab Gulf Area and the Conflicts Influencing It (Cairo: Egyptian Ministry of Defense), 1983.

2. Thomas W. Lippman, "Oil is Abundant Again, But Market Lacks Cushion," The Washington Post, December 10, 1990, pp. 1 and A-22.

3. Ibid.

4. Edward A. Sheverdnadze, "Iraqi Aggression Threatens World Peace," a speech given to the United Nations General Assembly, (25 September), quoted in The Retired Officers' Association National Security Report (Washington: November 1990, p. 34-35).

5. Lieutenant General (Ret) Saladin El Haddidi, "The American Dilemma of Defending the Persian Gulf," Defence Journal (Egypt), February 1988, pp. 8, 97.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anrari, M. E. The Gulf International Security in the 1980s and Beyond. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.

Egyptian Military Research Authority, Egypt and the Middle East in the Arab Gulf Area and the Conflicts Influencing It. Cairo: Egyptian Ministry of Defense, 1983.

El Haddidi, Lieutenant General (Ret) Saladin. "The American Dilemma of Defending the Persian Gulf," Defence Journal (Egypt), February 1988, pp. 8, 97.

Lippman, Thomas W. "Oil is Abundant Again, But Market Lacks Cushion," The Washington Post, December 10, 1990, pp. 1 and A-22.

Sheverdnadze, Edward A. "Iraqi Aggression Threatens World Peace," a speech given to the United Nations General Assembly, (25 September), quoted in The Retired Officers' Association National Security Report. Washington, November 1990, p. 34-35.